302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattooing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[305] Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[306] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 649 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[312] 315 The Mundurucu call the sun casi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiate.
The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hiau.
Day, cabid; night, ximan.

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuta.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadira
The morning star, cabiara.
The Southern Cross, chenchema (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ehca large enough to hold them all.

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapiocra to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin-tapiocra."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Munduruca.

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Karumkaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau (Carutau (Ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (Ibid.)). Karumkaibú's companion and helper is Daüru (Rayru (Ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karumkaibú and his sons and companion is a recurrent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karumkaibú learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daüru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daüru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karumkaibú; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karumkaibú had made the world but had not created men. One day Daüru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karumkaibú blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daüru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karumkaibú made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karumkaibú then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have once been in possession of the men's bâtons, while the men lived in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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773 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks
562 as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee:
● 121 Karusakaibó created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpa to clear the sun. The yakpa (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

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113 Barbosa, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Compans, 1904-05; Daniel-lou, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hirschberg, 1916-20; Kayser, 1901; Kissenberth, 1885; Krause, 1934; Martius, 1862; Nimuendajú, 1938; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823-31, vol. 3; Swinton, 1859; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868-70.

[4] For names of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the Mundurucu.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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wai do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Munduruú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get worms. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The kakorwat engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Munduruú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anacondas rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs, but those of the kakorwat are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Munduruú country in June of every year. Conversely, Munduruú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld.

Mothers of the Rain

The *mawhat* Ã, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.[1] The Munduruú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The *mawhat* Ã are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the *mawhat* Ã described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the *mawhat* Ã are mentioned by name in the legend of Perimut.[2] They are Tipiahitum (storm of wind and rain), Imporungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kuybixeriuyun (steady, slow rain). Kuybixeriuyun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of ebonish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Chuxerimunpi, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Dailtiuybi causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Dailtiuwaipi, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karupaybi, also a black *mawhat* Ã, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his flatus, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Munduruú to shoot from his arms. Karupaybi's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the infidelities of his wife and Chuxerimunpi.

The *mawhat* Ã live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the *mawhat* Ã is inside a hill near the Cabitutú River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Munduruú country. During the summer dry season, the *mawhat* Ã wander afar, as do the Munduruú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

[1] Tocantins' (1877, p. 138) statement that the souls of Munduruú dead are believed to produce storms was misunderstood by informants.

[2] See page 30.

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The *wamdut'ú* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Munduruká have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Munduruká informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *wamdut'ú*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Kaxiuí Secrets

The *karóbi* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Munduruká village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karóbi* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*dawabú*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *ruhú*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karóbi ejawé*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[1] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Munduruká culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Munduruká at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karóbi* of certain villages were also the *karóbi* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[1] Murphy, 1958.

/10 cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Munduruku use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often [816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chiqn or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa maqign or simply imaqign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*241 [821] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the [443] woman's.